

# LIBERATOR

Vol 10 No 5

MAY 1970 40c

TWO CITIES

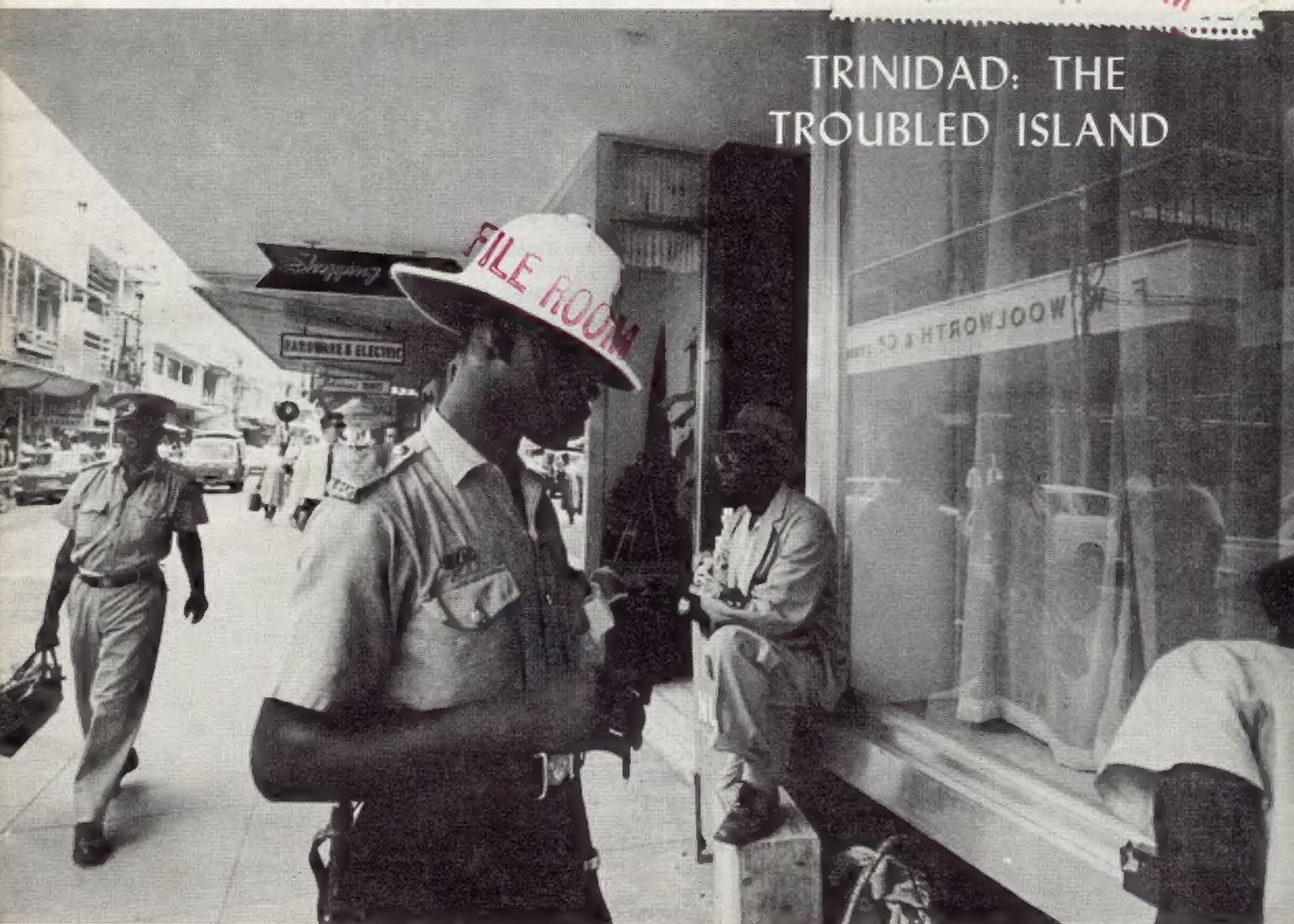
Editorial

LD

NEWARK PUBLIC LIBRARY

FILE ROOM

TRINIDAD: THE  
TROUBLED ISLAND



REAL THEATER IN  
THE SUBWAY

CLAYTON RILEY



# LIBERATOR

Vol 10 No 5 May 1970

**LIBERATOR:** Copyright 1970, by the Afro-American Research Institute, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Reproduction in whole or part without written permission is strictly prohibited.

**LIBERATOR** is published monthly by the Afro-American Research Institute, Inc. 244 East 46 Street, New York, N. Y., 10017

**Subscription Prices:** Within Continental United States:

Single Copy: 40¢ 1 year \$4.00  
2 years \$7.50

Foreign surface Mail: 1 year \$6.00

Foreign air mail: 1 year \$13.00

All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address should be sent to **LIBERATOR**, 244 East 46 Street, N.Y., N.Y., 10017  
Tel: YUkon 6-5939, area code 212  
Advertising Rates Sent Upon Request



Daniel H. Watts  
*editor-in-chief*

**EDITORS**  
Richard Gibson -  
*Africa, Asia and Europe*

Clayton Riley  
*Arts*

Tom Feelings  
*Illustrator*

## Contents

### EDITORIAL

Two Cities 3

### ANALYSIS

Trinidad: The Troubled Island  
by Selwyn Cudjoe 4  
Afro History is Ethnic History  
by John E. Cole, Jr. 14  
Students Leave Racist College  
by Larry Collins 18  
Palestinian Blacks Also Fight  
by Richard Gibson 17

### GRAPHICS

Angels and Demons  
by James McCoy 11

**NEWS IN BRIEF** 16

### BOOK REVIEW

Black Jacob  
by Toni Cade Bambara 20

### THEATRE

Real Theater in the Subway  
by Clayton Riley 21

### POETRY

Zimbabwe Unlimited  
Joseph Ubiles 10  
Windy City Blues  
by Cynthia M. Conley 22

**PHOTO ESSAY** 23

Cover photo: *united nations*

# Two Cities

*Washington:* the transformation from mixtown to Blacktown takes place each working day at the quitting time whistle. The whites frantically head out to Virginia and Maryland, while the brothers and sisters somewhat apprehensively wait on long lines for buses to take them to the northwest and northeast areas of town. For they, too, must reach home before sundown if they are to escape...the night people. Even back on time, there is always that hesitant approach to the pad. *Did the six locks on the door, the police dog...keep them out? Who is that lurking under the stairs? Why can't he go downtown and put a hurt on the people with real money -- why pick on a poor hard-working sister like me? All that jive-ass talk about Blackness and community control is nothing but a crock of shit! ...up the stairs... Hell, somebody has blown the bulb! Can't see to figure out which key goes where... inside, safe... Damnit, forgot to get the groceries. Ain't going back out there tonight and let one of them damn niggers snatch my purse -- don't they have a mother? -- just going to have to make do.*

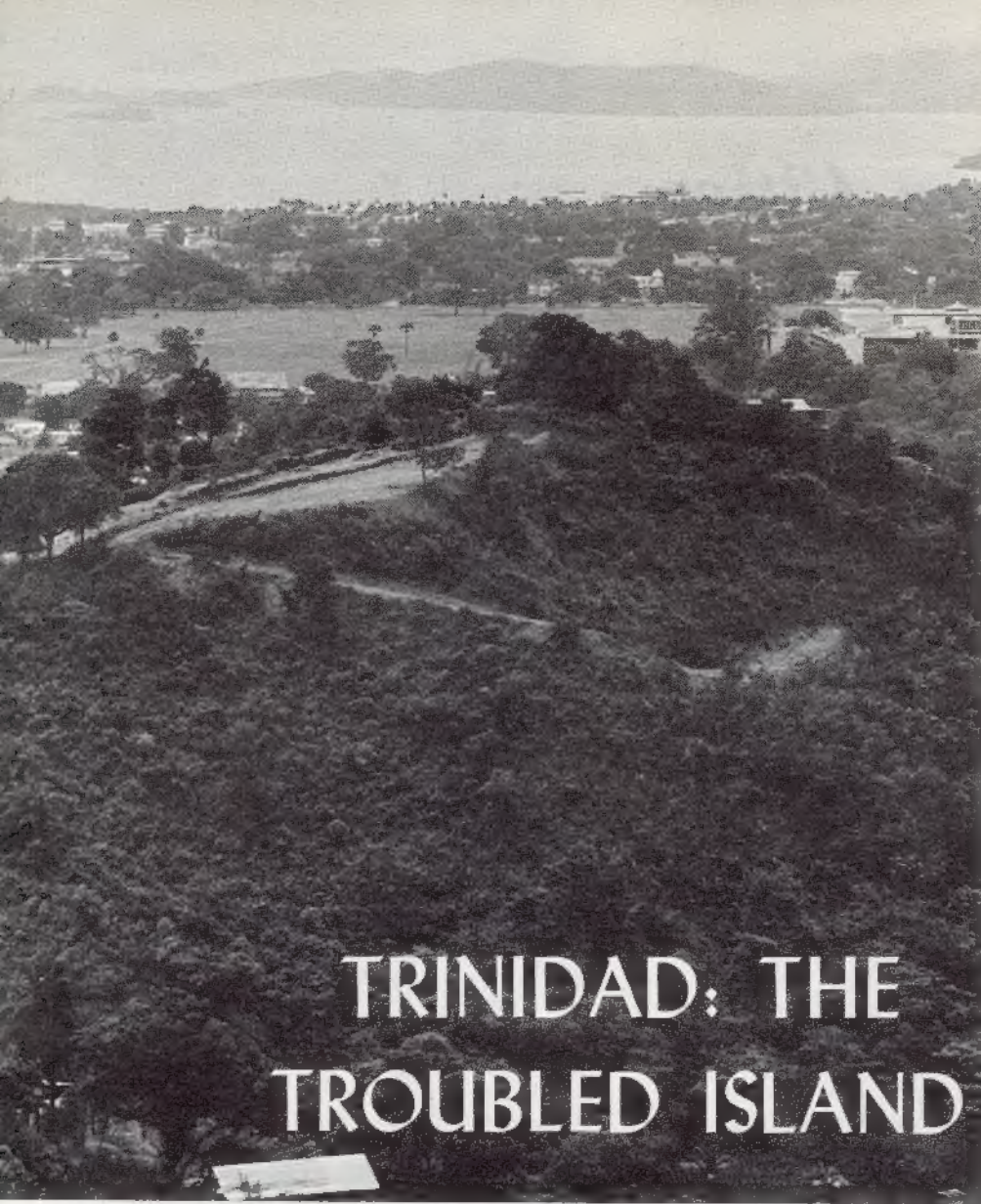
The only difference between the District of Columbia and Harlem is that the whites do not invade Harlem by day and split by night. After all the rhetoric of "Off the Pig," "TCB," "Black Nation," and doing "Our Black Thing," we are still left naked, exposed to those negroes who, with or without justifiable anger, grow into full Black manhood by traveling in wolf packs of from 4 to 8 "brothers" and preying on such "enemies of Black people" as seventy-year-old, unarmed, defenseless men and women, or 10-year-old children on the way to school. All right, "Black Nationhood" has been proclaimed by all the hustling angry poets, playwrights, and militant preachers; the Afros have been teased into new heights; the dansikis are made of the finest Italian gabardines; our wheels (shoes) are of the finest alligator; the foxes are rolling in their "militant Cadillac"; and the so-called pigs are gone. But who, *who* is going to protect *us*? Who is going to guarantee *our* safety? Who is going to provide us with safe and innocent passage through the streets of our own new nation?

Perhaps the time has finally arrived for us to look at our need for internal security with more conviction and less passion, begin to think in terms of providing institutions for public safety. We have the nucleus for such institutions in the form of the Afro-American policemen, and in particular those Black policemen who are part of the growing Afro-policemen associations in such cities as Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington, D.C. We in the Black communities should spur them to action, by calling for a national convention of law enforcement officers before this year has passed, to devise new means and methods for bridging the justifiable gap of distrust between Black Americans and the representatives of the various police departments.

"Off the Pig" is not enough! If we are to survive, then we must be able to walk without fear of our own people.

-- DANIEL H. WATTS





## TRINIDAD: THE TROUBLED ISLAND

by SELWYN CUDJOE

*photos; United Nations*

and Tobago are the problems faced by most emerging nations of the world: the need to acquire markets for their products; little or no capital funds for developmental purposes; total dependence on the developed countries for the sale of their major products.

Most of the islands of the Caribbean are the results of a past that dictated that they produce certain commodities for a colonial power. In Trinidad's case, that colonial power, beginning in 1797, was Great Britain. Britain's "mercantilist theory" called for the colonies to provide her with the products she couldn't provide for herself. Trinidad's contribution was sugar, and as a result it has remained until today with primarily one agricultural product.

Slaves were needed for the production of sugar since the indigenous Indian tribes of the area, the Caribs and the Arawaks, were decimated by the cruelty of the Spaniards who had occupied the island prior to the conquest of the English. Consequently, within the period of 1783 to 1834, when Britain abolished slavery, the population of African slaves rose from 302 to 26,517. When the Africans were freed, labor was still required to cultivate the plantations. For this task, indentured laborers were brought in from India, with no fewer than 145,000 Indians introduced into Trinidad between 1838 and 1917.

The results of all this was that until the country became independent in 1962, British colonialism maintained Trinidad in its servile status exclusively for the production of sugar cane, which kept Trinidad's economy dependent upon only one major agriculture product. In the

Tacarigua is a small village ten miles east of Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad and Tobago. Six years ago, I left this little village and set out to find my fortune in the land of opportunity, these United States of America. I remember distinctly that one Alwyn Primus, with whom I grew up, and myself were members of a church choir. Four years later I returned and my childhood friend, Alwyn Primus, was the leader of the Young Power movement. We spoke briefly and he warned of the problems that lay ahead because of the high unemployment. Three weeks ago, I returned again and Primus was the

leader of the Black Panther Party in Trinidad. We did not speak on this occasion but one week ago the island was on fire and Primus was one of the main men in the action.

How does one interpret this transition from choir boy to leader of the Black Panther Party? And how does one interpret Trinidad's transition from peaceful little island "where every creed and race finds an equal place"(1) to an inferno of burning buildings, and shoot-outs between rebel soldiers and members of the Coast Guard?

Neither transition should come as a surprise to students of history. The problems faced by Trinidad





A street scene on Fredrick Street, Port-of-Spain.

20th century, however, oil was to supplant sugar as the main source of revenue.

Protest for independence began in 1935 when the self-styled "Chief Servant" of the people, Uriah Butler, organized mass demonstrations and burned down a few buildings to extract better working conditions for the people in the oilfields in Trinidad. These demonstrations had the effect of "ushering a period of labor uprising throughout the West Indies...."(2)

The era of modern politics in Trinidad and Tobago began in 1955, when the scholar and historian Dr. Eric Williams returned from studies abroad to his country. One year later his newly formed party, The People's National Movement, won the election and they have been in power ever since. It is pertinent to note that when Williams became

Prime Minister he was labeled "Communist" by many newspapers in America. But Despite "his marxist historical methodology, his anti-colonial writings...and his indiscrete references to 'the abolition of private property,'" (3) Eric Williams didn't follow the socialist line early in his political career. It might also be noted here that in 1961, under a treaty signed with the United States, his government was able to recover 80% of the lands that had been leased to the United States by Britain during World War II.

In 1962, Trinidad and Tobago became independent, and immediately accelerated its educational program. When Dr. Williams arrived on the scene in 1955, only 200 secondary (high school) places were available free of charge for the country's children out of a population of one million. By the end of 1962 a total

of 6,400 high school places were available, and 19,300 places at the primary (elementary) school level.

At the present time the Trinidad high school system graduates over 30,000 students annually who must compete for an available 5,000 jobs.

The high unemployment rate in Trinidad and Tobago is, of course, mainly due to a critical shortage of jobs. But there is also a problem of miseducation. Students for the most part aspire to white collar jobs and eschew any preparation for things like dairy farming and agricultural pursuits. As Dr. Williams himself noted, in addressing the nation on March 23 of this year, at the University of the West Indies, "the Faculty of Agriculture located here in Trinidad, which cost us (The Trinidad and Tobago Government) \$7,247 per place, is grossly underutilized. It can absorb an

*cont next pg*



additional 100 students, but we cannot get young people with the requisite academic backgrounds to apply for agricultural training." In addition, there is a very serious "brain drain." For many professionals trained at government expense emigrate to other countries. Between 1965 and 1969, for example, of the 693 nurses trained by the government 586 emigrated in 1969; of the 77 technicians trained by the Trinidad and Tobago Electricity Commission, 33 emigrated.

But the major problem of Trinidad and Tobago transcends the question of education. As stated by a release of the Trinidad and Tobago Government of February 2, 1968: "Trinidad

lives by trade." The basis of the economy is first the petroleum industry, which provides 75% of the country's export and about 85% of the government's revenue, and then sugar which is the main export crop and accounts for more than half of the working populace. In 1964, for example, petroleum products and sugar accounted for \$564 million out of a total export of \$694 million.

Control of these two major industries is one of the major issues that sparked the recent outbursts in Trinidad. When Dr. Williams came into power these industries were dominated exclusively by American and British interests. Following the lead of Zambia and Sierra Leone,

Trinidad decided to buy controlling interests in both the sugar and petroleum industries. Advocates of Black power are now calling for the total nationalization of these industries.

On the surface, this demand seems reasonable. The militants, however, have tended to overlook a sad reality: the actual output of the Trinidad oilfields is not that large; in fact the country is incapable of producing sufficient oil for its own refining needs, and hence large amounts of oil are imported from Venezuela. Because of the miniscule amount of oil (and sugar) produced in Trinidad, the country must depend completely on preferential







Students in this class reflect the multi-racial population of Trinidad and Tobago.

tariff treatment for its sugar from Britain, Canada, and the U.S., and its oil is sold in sheltered markets in the U.S. And even with such favored treatment, Dr. Williams reminded his country on March 23rd, "the government still has the greatest difficulty in securing markets for her 44,000 barrels of oil a day, a mere bagatelle in terms of world production."

Trinidad and Tobago suffers from the nature of its economy. In the U.S., 90% of the goods and services produced are consumed within the country itself. In Trinidad and Tobago, 50% of monies expended for developmental purposes leave the country for the acquisition

of raw materials, rather than circulating within the country to provide employment for its citizens. In fact, in a typical year imports exceed exports. The government has attempted to alleviate this situation by developing light industry and thus far has attracted 200 industries and provided 68,900 jobs. Yet the problems of trade imbalance and unemployment remain.

These, therefore, are the main factors that led to the outburst of riots and violence in Trinidad last month: unemployment and frustration among youths; total dependence on world markets which they do not control; and the control of the economy by foreign investment

despite some efforts made by the government to reverse this pattern.

The riots were sparked when students began to demonstrate in Port of Spain two months ago in support of several Trinidad students who were convicted of destroying a computer valued at over \$1 million at Sir George Williams University in Canada. (They had been demonstrating against a biology teacher who, they said, was racist.) The Trinidad and Tobago government paid a fine of \$87,000 and freed the students. But on arrival home, the students roundly condemned the government for having done so. The leaders of the Black Power movement, seizing on the frustration and

*cont next pg*





Prime Minister Eric Williams, (l) confers with Secretary-General U Thant at UN.

Workmen constructing side drains on Roxborough-Bloody Bay Road in Tobago.



bitterness which these demonstrations had revealed, began similar marches throughout the country mobilizing the Black and East Indian elements as a significant coalition against the white interests that still controlled the major shopping areas in Port of Spain and the residue of white control that still remains in the oil and sugar industries.

Around the 4th of April a Black youth was shot in the major square when he tried to either resist arrest or attack a policeman. The result was chaos. Militant demonstrations, aided and abetted by members of the Black Power faction, caused the government to declare a state of emergency on Tuesday, April 21st, to control what was clearly becoming an anarchic situation. On the same day, about sixteen persons were arrested in Port of Spain (for reasons yet unknown), and several members of the Trinidad Regiment tried to release them. A shoot-out resulted with members of the Coast Guard, but the attempt failed. Riot in the city then began in earnest.

Two days later dissident members of the Army seized control of the ammunition depot at Chaguaramas Bay in the north of the island. The government retaliated, brought some ammunition from the United States, and a day later everything was quiet. Many leaders were picked up. On Thursday evening, a telegram arrived at the Trinidad and Tobago Permanent Mission to the United Nations which asked them "to disregard the highly inflated reports." Sensational press accounts to the contrary, no United States ships had entered the territorial waters of Trinidad nor had they been requested. And the riots had been confined to Port of Spain with none of the rural areas touched.

In all of this there emerges a paradox. How does one reconcile Black Power with a country whose ethnic mixture is 43% Black; 36%



Indian; 2% Chinese, Lebanese, Syrian, and others; 16% white?

The truth is that while 80% of the population is non-white a number of the better jobs have gone to whites or persons who looked white. Although this situation has increasingly improved under the government of Dr. Williams, the lighter skinned Blacks are still favored over their darker brothers-- a fact which led my thirteen-year-old sister to endorse Black Power even though she didn't agree with the violence. In Tobago whites own 43% of the land. In Port Port of Spain many of the white capitalists fail to reinvest their capital back into the country. Such specific ills of discrimination based on color should and must be solved, but there is another side to the problem. Black people for the most part do not *want* to work the land; they are more interested in status-bringing "white collar" jobs. In Trinidad, for example, East Indians (who must certainly be considered "non-white") own most of the land.

As to whether the economy should be completely nationalized, the political machinery exists whereby this could be achieved...if the members of the Black Power movement could garner enough votes to remove the Prime Minister when the next elections come along. The point being that the legal machinery and a Black elected government with a mandate to nationalize are free to do so. Violence, I suggest, is the wrong way to approach change in Trinidad and Tobago.

In terms of rival leaders and

parties, the Democratic Labor Party, the National Joint Congress, the Black Panther Party, followers of Lloyd Best, James Millette and Geddes Granger, have all remained steadfastly at each other's throats and have refused to have anything to do with each other for the most part. I can only suggest very humbly that if these gentlemen and the various parties were really concerned about the masses of people

they purport to speak for, they could have easily submerged their individual and political differences and presented a united front against Dr. Williams' People's National Movement. Instead some have opted for anarchy while others have advocated the burning down of the country. Both paths are regrettable. For if either were to succeed, who would inherit the destruction that would be wrought?

## "Watts is a container of filth and ignorance, because it was created by the white man."

● That's a black man talking, four years after Watts exploded into the violence that rocked the nation. What's happened since? Here the people of Watts tell in their own words how the hell of Watts continues to fester to this day. "The most incisive report in the growing body of post-insurrection literature, a necessary antidote to the McCone Commission's official version."

—RICHARD M. ELMAN,  
N. Y. Times Book Review

### **WATTS: THE AFTERMATH** by the People of Watts

Edited by Paul Bullock  
\$6.95, now at your bookstore  
**GROVE PRESS**



## ZIMBABWE UNLIMITED

night crowds my solitude as i invade the  
rainbow & touch the sun pain falls softly  
as september rain answers & isolation  
washes all in rhythmic confusion primitive  
life arms as anger glistens in the cobble  
stone slime of defiance what is madness  
ask those who wear the thick thin coat of  
sadness they know the scars are forever  
for eternity for tomorrow all i ask is  
that she come to me blackly for i am  
alone damp grey morning rushes at me  
awkwardly as waves of night obscure all  
but the oasis distant light of my mind  
burning to touch softly is the answer  
yet time & distance castrate me i am  
shackled woman waiting emancipation is  
your touch your face fades golden brightly  
as the death of pretense marks my departure  
& i come to know i need you dawn violent  
birth of light strips the sky of night  
brings you one day closer earth sounds  
surround me constantly but memory of  
your tenderness eclipses all as my  
blackness grows daily i know that we are  
beyond the spectrum & that only time can  
kill us i listen to your music & hear  
freedom's laughter yet the barefoot dance  
of life is what calls hurry to me woman  
that i may touch you softly yes in the  
not so far distant near i witness the  
death of my people & our dreams yet any  
fool knows calendar time & tomorrow turn  
brown & burst into flame as the forever  
death of fire arrives & the scars will pain  
no more all around me absolutely burning  
bright shadow half life tears at the snake  
eye sealed lips of mine only crudely stitched  
ragged lips of them torn from mother's black  
breast death wish of sperm whiteness as  
dawn fire reflects all that will be the  
family of dust tomorrow i sit within my  
inkwell thing warning all that flashes in  
childlike inversion that justice is possession  
of in by man but that freedom sits outside  
all grimly watching the call to arms necessity....

--Joseph Ubiles



# *Angels & Demons*

*James McCoy*



ATOR May 1970

WHICH WAY DESTINY WALKS  
WE TAKE FATE WITH US





## ANGELS & DEMONS

OPEN  
BREEZES  
VENUS  
WINDS  
MURMUR  
OPEN  
VENUS  
BEYOND  
STRIDES  
WE  
MET  
AT  
A  
POINT IN  
OUR  
LIVES  
SAYING  
NEITHER  
NOR THE OTHER  
YES  
AND  
NO  
IT MADE  
NO  
DIFFERENCE  
ONCE  
IMMEDIATELY  
BELONGING  
TOGETHER  
CARRYING  
WINGS  
WE  
FLEW  
LINING  
THE SKYS  
VOICES  
WITH  
MUSIC  
NOW MYTH  
OF PHOENIX  
ETERNALLY RISING





STEP BY STEP BY BLACK TIMES  
OF TIMES RAISE AND BE OF  
NO MORE PAIN



# AFRO HISTORY IS ETHNIC HISTORY

by John E. Cole, Jr.

History is the story of man; or to be more exact, "it is man's story." It is his story about himself and his relationship to the universe. History is the device through which man discovers the traditions of his past, thereby creating an image of what he presently is, finally enabling him to construct a healthy image of what he is to be. Thus, "history" itself may be defined as "man's image of his past traditions." Through these image formations, a human society attempts to explain its own genesis, reconstructing the development of the social institutions of its peoples, tracing the great sufferings and triumphs it has encountered in its struggle for existence. By way of this historical perspective, each society is capable of analyzing itself and realizing the cohesive bond that has enabled it to survive.

According to Leopold von Ranke, European historian of the nineteenth century, the purpose of history is to judge the past and "instruct the present for the benefit of ages to come....Its aim is merely to show how things actually were." (1) Expressing a different opinion is Herbert Butterfield:

It has been said that the historian is the avenger, and that standing as the judge between the parties and rivalries and causes of bygone generations he can lift up the fallen and beat down the proud, and by his exposures and his verdicts, his satire and his moral indignation, can punish unrighteousness, avenge the injured or reward the innocent. (2)

For Butterfield, history has become a tool to rearrange or destroy certain images of the past. And it is this

use of history which serves as the basis for the controversy over white and Black interpretations of the validity, aims and purposes of Afro-American history. At the present time--a time in which there is a surging enthusiasm for knowledge about the Afro-American heritage--white historians are expressing fears that Black historians will "distort" American history. Black historians respond by pointing out that white historians have already distorted it.

Whether history is used as a tool or not, it has not often been told by dispassionate bystanders. To use the words of William L. Katz:

History has usually consisted of tales told by the victors. Dictated by conscience, and thus often displaying more self-justification than truth, for the original losers it has usually amounted to insult being heaped upon injury. Those who have been the victims of oppression have suffered again when their story is told by their oppressors. (3)

Traditionally, American history has been used as a tool to beat down and destroy the heritage of Afro-Americans through outright lies (such as William Styron's *Confessions of Nat Turner*) or intellectual distortions (such as by Stanley M. Elkins in *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*). Black history is basically ethnic history; that is, it is essentially a record of the valuable traditions which have produced a group consciousness in a people through the creation of a rich inheritance of memories and an impending desire to maintain them. For example, the Germans, Danes, Irish, English and French people are from a common "geneological stock"; however, their histories are dissimilar because of ethnological or cultural

divergences.

In the case of United States history, national or ethnic history is synonymous to immigrant history. As explained by Dwight W. Hoover:

...ethnic history is immigrant history which traces the arrival of a group in the New World, the vicissitudes suffered in the struggle for existence and the insularity and cohesiveness that enable that group to survive. The second generation experiences forces tugging in two different cultural directions. Later generations, after a longer or shorter time of travail, assimilate into American society and become virtually indistinguishable from other, earlier immigrant groups. (4)

This process of "Americanization" has generally been applicable to every group of ethnic immigrants to America, the most outstanding exception being that of Afro-Americans. Because of the color of our skin, our history, like we ourselves, has been forced to remain outside the realm of the dominant tradition in America. Through omissions and distortions, Black history was reduced to "Negro History," a history of a people without a past, a fictitious creation of the "white" American society.

Heretofore, the American historical tradition has been presented in a dualistic fashion. While American historical literature overtly expresses a multi-cultured philosophy, it simultaneously projects a covert image of an ethnic hierarchy, based on WASP superiority. The superficial melting-pot theory was introduced to sooth the tension created by the reality of the subconscious

---

Mr. John E. Cole, Jr. is an Instructor in Afro-American History at Fordham University, Bronx, N.Y.



racism which pervades the society. Though many white historians deny racial bias, it seeps through the pages of their professional journals and "scholarly" texts.

It is impossible for the Black American to identify with the present nature of the American historical tradition. It is impossible because the notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority has been founded upon the assertion that Afro-Americans are innately and/or culturally inferior. Therefore, the Afro-American, as other ethnic groups, has been compelled to present an ethnic history which mirrors a healthy image of the heritage of his people. By so doing, he has initiated a process which enables healthy identification with other cultures.

American history begins with the culture of the earliest peoples to come to the American continent and not with the Spanish and Anglican "Voyages of Discovery" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It begins with the crossing of the indigenous population which reportedly arrived here nearly 20,000 years ago, by way of the Bering Straits.

The American historical tradition has adequately pointed out the divergence in the ethnological backgrounds of the European peoples who settled in America. That is to say, Euro-Americans have further distinguished themselves from each other by retaining their European ethnic or national history for several generations after coming to America. This ethnic historical separation was manifested in a geographical separation as well. Spanish Americans principally settled the central and southern part of the continent. The English and Dutch settled along the northeastern seaboard, with the French settling in the "Old Northwest," Canada, and the Louisiana delta region.

In regards to the Afro-American, however, the American historical tradition has failed to even point out his ethnological differentiation. In spite of the fact that many Europeans were cognizant of the African's physical, linguistic, cultural, social and national differences, the

American historical tradition has maintained that these differences indicate cultural fragmentation and infantile development along the scale of human civilization, instead of ethnological sophistication and differentiation. This fallacy has distorted the total perspective of the American historical tradition by failing to document and preserve the ethnic history of African origins.

Contrary to the prevailing opinion, Afro-American history does not have its beginnings with the introduction of African slaves to America nor does Euro-American history have its beginnings with the settlements of Europeans in America following the "Voyages of Discovery." As Euro-American history has its beginnings in the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome, Afro-American history has its beginnings in the ancient traditions of Egypt, Ghana and Songhay.

In conclusion, Afro-American history is an ethnic history about a people with a common cultural heritage. It is the study of a people who have achieved a spiritual unity

through common triumphs, common failures, similar traditions and similar hopes. It does not, as Negro History does, have as its aim the desire to impress the white intellectual. Its primary aim is to transmit the historical truths surrounding the social, cultural, political, and spiritual development of the Afro-American people.

#### FOOTNOTES

- (1) Leopold van Ranke, *Quentin Durward*, cited G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 74.
- (2) Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1965), p. 1.
- (3) William L. Katz, ed., "Five Slave Narratives," *The American Negro: His History and Literature* (New York: The Arno Press and New York Times, 1968), p. 1.
- (4) Dwight W. Hoover, ed., *Understanding Negro History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1968) pp. 13-14.

# marcus garvey

## THE MAN

UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT  
ASSOCIATION, THE ORGANIZATION

**MARCUS GARVEY** tape 60 minutes

At last the truth about the  
Garvey Movement

Interviews of those who worked with him.

Send money order for \$5.00 to

V.A. Chavous	2-channel
5130 Burlingame	III
Detroit, Michigan 48204	4-channel



# News in Brief

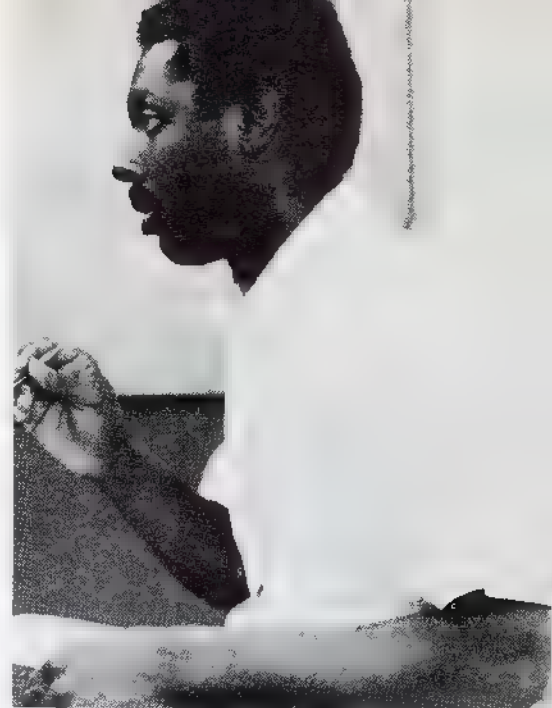
ATLANTA, GA. - A determined, grass roots student-level effort to preserve the separateness and integrity of presently existing Black colleges was announced in mid-April by the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU).

The move came out of a national Black college conference cosponsored by SOBU and the student government association of Spelman College in Atlanta. The four day event (April 9-12) attracted over 225 registered delegates representing some 40 schools throughout the United States, from Tougaloo, Miss. to Wilberforce, Ohio.

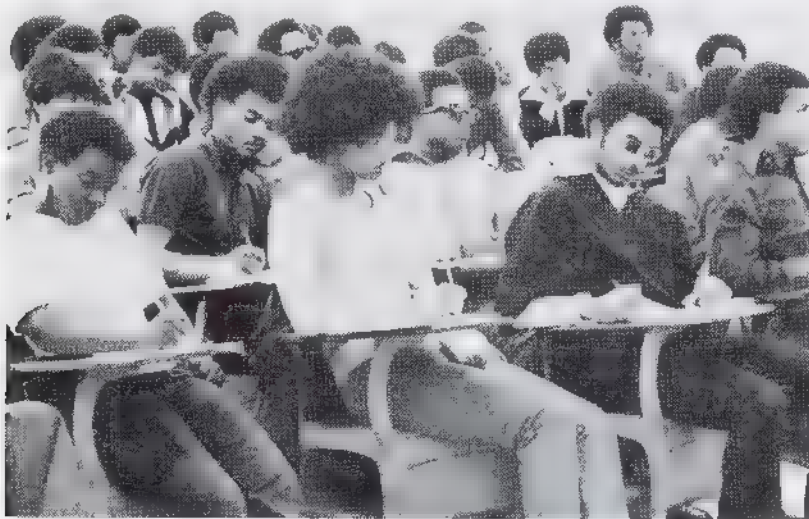
SOBU, an independently based student group operating in ten

North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University keyed the opening session, following presentations by Black poets Sarah Webster Fabio, Ebon Dooley, Sonia Sanchez, and music by the Harambee Singers.

Johnson informed the delegates that there must be not only a struggle to save the Black schools, but also a simultaneous effort to change them. "There is no need, for example," he said, "to preserve Spelman College as it now exists. We have to struggle not to save Spelman as a neo-colonialist 'negro' institution, but rather struggle for the right to preserve the opportunity



Nelson Johnson



Conference participants

regions in the eastern half of the country, had called the conference in response to calculated moves on the part of various state and federal government offices to force racial integration of these Black schools.

It was SOBU's belief that such moves were designed not only to destroy the potential for acquiring positive Black education at these schools, but also a direct act of political repression against certain campuses where growing Black consciousness was beginning to threaten the traditional white control of Black education.

Nelson Johnson, SOBU national convener and vice-president of the student government at Greensboro's

to build Spelman into a relevant Black institution, because of the great number of Black minds that can be reached if such a change is successfully brought about."

Subsequently, May 5 was set aside as a national day on which to commemorate this struggle for the survival of Black colleges. Students across the country were to use that date to evidence the concern and effort to successfully save those institutions which should be rightfully developed by Blacks, not whites.

The major part of the conference time was spent in various workshops and discussion groups in which delegates discussed ideology and pro-

grams, laid out specific work projects for the future and exchanged information about campus activity and political direction. Special workshops included "Contemporary Africa," "The Relationship between School and Community," "The Role of Art in the Black Revolution," and "The Dynamics of the Black Self-Concept."

The conference also agreed to join in the April 29 day of commemoration for "executed Black nationalist H. Rap Brown, killed along with Ralph Featherstone and William Che Payne in a Bel Air, Md. bomb blast last month."

M.O.D.E., Inc., Modern Organization for Dance Evolvement, in conjunction with Church of the Master will present *EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTIONS IN BLACK DANCE*, a series of four performance/workshops. These demonstrations, which will begin Sunday, May 16, at the Church of the Master, 122nd Street and Morningside Avenue, New York City will feature a different dance group on each succeeding Sunday. Contributions for the series will be \$5.00 for adults, \$3.00 for students. Contributions for individual performances will be \$2.00.



# PALESTINIAN BLACKS ALSO FIGHT

text and photos by Richard Gibson

*Amman, Jordan.* Even if the long reported rumors of U.S. Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver visiting the Middle East and joining the armed struggle against Israel come true, he and his followers will not be the first Black people to take up arms against the Zionist state.

A large number of Palestinian-born Blacks have long been both rank and file and leading members of some of the liberation movements.

Typical of these little known Black freedom fighters is 24-year old Raad Abdul Wahab, who was born near Haifa and grew up, after the Arab defeat in the first Arab-Israeli War, in the appalling conditions of a West Bank refugee camp.

In 1967, Wahab and his two brothers joined the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), one of the most radical and militant of the 12 Palestinian organizations.

Wahab says he and his brothers, and hundreds of other Black Palestinians, are fighting against Israel, not because they are Black, but because they are Palestinians who have always been an integral part of the traditional society of their country.

"Before 1967," Wahab says, "we looked to the Arab regimes for liberation. The defeat of 1967 showed us that those regimes could not free our country and the sole way left for us was the armed struggle of our people."

Black Palestinians, many of whom complain bitterly of experiences of Israeli racism, have played an important role in the resistance movement in Jericho, Jerusalem, Gaza and Haifa, and a number have been captured or killed by Israeli forces.

Wahab says he follows closely press reports of the struggle of Black people in the United States. "Our struggle is the same," he says. "We in the PFLP are fighting against racism and religious exclusivism. Our aim is to create a Free Palestine in which Arabs and Jews can live as equal citizens

with regard to rights and duties, forming an integral part of a national democratic state."

Essentially, this is not only the liberation of land," Wahab adds, "but of a people."

Raad Abdul Wahab, a Black Palestinian freedom fighter, on guard duty at PFLP headquarters on the outskirts of Amman.



*Ashbals* (8 to 12 year old "Tiger Clubs") starting their training at an Al Fatah (Palestine Liberation Movement) camp in Jordan. In the background, the huge Baqqa Palestinian refugee camp.



Even many young girls join the *Ashbals* to liberate their country from Zionist rule.





# STUDENTS LEAVE RACIST COLLEGE

The Black Action Students Association (BASA) was formed during the Spring of 1968 in an attempt to create an atmosphere at Defiance College, Ohio, that was conducive to the educational, cultural, and social advancement of its Black students. Black students came together in one group to combat the racism that is prevalent on the campus. Since that time, racist acts and statements by the Administration, and some faculty, have caused many Blacks to reevaluate their position.

Last spring BASA presented the Administration with a list of simple demands, which included: Black faculty; Black culture; Black Head Residents (female first); and investigation into racist practices of the Athletic Department. To this date, nothing meaningful has come of those demands. (There are now two Black faculty members on the staff.) Since that time, and immediately prior to that time, the Administration of Defiance College has done the following:

1. President Noel Johnston told the Black students that if they felt that they could trust no one at Defiance, then they should go where they *could* trust someone.

2. President Johnston has stated that as long as there were just a few Blacks on campus, there had been no trouble.

3. The President has stated continually that if it had not been for sacrifices on the part of himself and faculty, the Black students would still be in the "ghetto." He also stated that he brought Black students to Defiance to "upgrade their race."

4. After having signed a statement supporting the Black students' demands, the Chaplain of the United Church of Christ was physically barred from the Board of Trustees meeting by the President. Until this time, the Chaplain had sat in on meetings with the trustees.

5. After having agreed to work on the Black students' demands, the Dean of Academic Affairs and Faculty was suddenly shuffled to

another position. Since that time, no valid attempt has been made to implement any Black demands.

6. A faculty member forbade a Black student from writing English compositions on subjects concerning Blacks.

7. The Administration attempted to prevent BASA from having a state-wide Black Student Conference in December 1969 at Defiance College.

8. The Administration successfully blocked a Winter Term Project by the Black students, claiming that the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ would not help finance the program, when in fact, it was really the Administration's refusal to help finance the program that destroyed it.

9. While BASA was working in Lima, Ohio, during the month of January, the Administration continually attempted to force BASA to leave Lima because the school had been threatened with a loss of financial contributions.

10. The Administration participated in a malicious smear campaign (personal slander) against the BASA Advisor, in an attempt to have him removed from working in Northwest Ohio.

11. The Administration has participated in a judicial process that discriminates against the Black females on campus.

12. The Administration refused to sit on a panel with Black students to discuss problems confronting the Defiance campus and refused to allow forum credit to be granted for this affair. Originally forum credit was supposed to have been granted for this program.

13. After receiving new demands from the Movement for Student Rights, which included demands drawn up by BASA, the Administration has refused to do anything toward implementing these demands.

14. The Administration has attempted to intimidate and humiliate a former BASA Advisor by questioning him about his source of funds when he offered to purchase a house for the Black students.

15. The Administration has constantly refused to heed advice

from the "inside" or from the "outside" that would help in the implementation of Black demands.

16. BASA's Advisor has constantly been referred to as a "paid, outside, professional agitator."

17. The President has constantly refused to discuss the demands with Black students.

18. The Administration has frequently threatened Black students with a loss of HEW and other funds if they continue to press for justice on the campus.

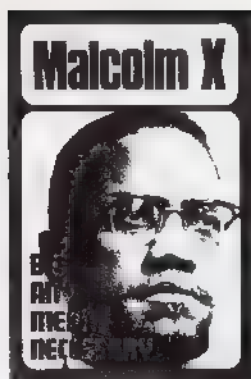
Because of this, Black students have decided to withdraw from this racist, dictatorial institution. Furthermore, we will actively campaign to inform all prospective Black students about what has happened here, and we will attempt to discourage them from enrolling in Noel Johnston's college. Sixteen (16) Black seniors can attest to the atmosphere of distrust, disharmony and frustration that they have experienced, and which has been fostered by the Administration. Since January of 1969, ten Blacks have already left because of the situation at Defiance; ten more will definitely withdraw after this semester; fifteen more are seeking other colleges to enroll in next semester; and sixteen will graduate this year. The remainder are consulting with parents and other advisors for direction. Irving Joyner of the Commission for Racial Justice, BASA's Advisor, has already made at least one trip with transcripts to see if he can get them enrolled in a Black institution.

This is not a matter of Black students running away from a problem. We have tried all means at our disposal--short of actual physical confrontation--to try to make Defiance relevant to the needs of the Black community and to its products. *Defiance refuses to change*, so we are now refusing to validate its claims to progress, understanding and brotherhood with our presence. We say to President Johnston: "*We are pulling off your hooded sheet and exposing you for what you are--a blatant racist. Continue your little power play games at Defiance alone! All power to Black people!!*"



A Merit Book

## By Any Means Necessary



"... these glimpses of him—down-to-earth verbatim records of talks before and after his Meccan trip, edited only to avoid repetition and trivia bring him alive in a spontaneous, remarkably virile way for readers just beginning to grasp his moral stature and humanity." *Publishers Weekly* (3/9/70).

When you tell this black man in America who he is, where he came from, what he had when he was there, he'll look around and ask himself, "Well, what happened to it, who took it away from us and how did they do it?" Why, brothers, you'll have some action just like that. When you let the black man in America know... that knowledge in itself will usher in your action program. And it will be by any means necessary

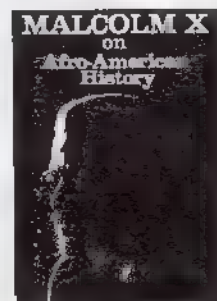
All thinking people today who have been oppressed are revolutionary. Any time you find somebody today who's afraid of the word "revolution," get him on out of your way. He's living in the wrong era. He's behind the times. He hasn't awakened yet. This is the era of revolution.

192 pp. cloth, \$5.95; paper, \$1.95

Malcolm X believed that the education, or re-education of the black people of this country was necessary for the building of a new mass movement, one capable of fighting effectively for self-determination and human rights. The major work in this book is a talk on Afro-American history given at a public meeting in Harlem, a month before his assassination.

This book, which has had six printings and sold over 50,000 copies, has now been revised, expanded, and illustrated to better serve the needs of classroom use. 80 pp., paper \$1.00

## MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY



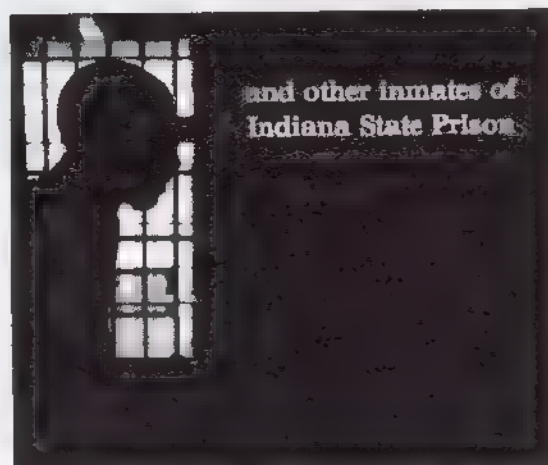
# &

## BLACK VOICES FROM PRISON

In self description, Etheridge Knight has written: "I died in Korea from a shrapnel wound and narcotics resurrected me. I died in 1960 from a prison sentence and poetry brought me back to life."

Stories, articles, and poems written by Knight plus a number of pieces (including a play) by fellow inmates whom he encouraged to write. The subjects include prison life, the position of blacks in American society, their future, autobiographies, and case histories. The volume is revelatory of life behind bars and the black experience—so much of which in the US has been a prison experience. Knight is now teaching black studies at the University of Pittsburgh. 288 pp., cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45

BY ETHERIDGE KNIGHT



Pathfinder Press, Inc., 873 Broadway, New York City, 10003

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ in full payment for this order.



## Book Review

**Black Jacob**, by William Mahoney.  
New York: MacMillan, 1969. 256 pp.  
\$5.95

While the poetry of the Harlem Renaissance (1920's) is for real and durable, the novels of that era never seem exciting as literary or social phenomena, perhaps because the novelists were so far removed from what was happening. The lynchings, riots, psychotic refinements in Jim Crow, Klan revival, and other sick folk games of postwar white America were, evidently, not considered the stuff of novels. So we rely on the poetry and essays and our elders' scrapbooks for an ample vision of those times.

For quite a while it seemed as though the explosive move from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Liberation Struggle would be ignored by the novelists too. But clearly the problem lay, and still lies, not in the stance of the novelists but in the amount of heart they had to fashion a new form in which to tell our story. John A. Williams may very well do for the novel what LeRoi Jones has done for the drama--open it up and let it shape itself around experience and memory and feeling, rather than distorting the experience to fit into the form. In the meantime, we have several standard-form novels that do depict those years of hoses, dogs, electric prods and beefy sheriffs. Mahoney's *Black Jacob* is such a book, a selective rendering of that voluminous material that has been available to us for some time actually... in less than readable journals by activists whose passionate involvement and limited writing skills tended to obscure the picture. Or in less than

responsible reportage by newsmen so obsessed with bombings and burnings that the sensationalism quite overshadowed the real work and the actual horror. Or in less than trustworthy accounts by two-minute trippers with only a murky perception of what those risky summers in the Deep South were all about in the first damn place.

Mahoney--trained social worker, organizer, SNCC and SCLC veteran field worker, editor of SCLC's *Soul Force*, initiator of numerous publishing enterprises in the Black communities of the South--has not written a great book. It is not even a very skillful book. It abounds in contrived entrances and exits: in artificial recognition scenes in which characters hold forth in syntactically correct paragraphs on some should-be painful, sudden, and tearing discoveries; in cluttered set pieces with one-shot characters who merge into each other, like a bar scene which features Freddie, Fats, and Fannie (and to add to the confusion, Freddie is Fat's wife); and in the creaky biblical framework of Jacob and his inheritance and his two ladies, Rachel and Leah.

But the reader tends to ignore these flaws (you grit your teeth and move on), for what Mahoney attempts to do and does do is not easy. And that is to present that complex web of political, racial, social, economical, familial, personal interests that make up the tensions and terrors of the magnolia society. We do get a glimpse of what it was/is like training volunteers, living on peanut butter and sardines, coping with hasslin' with niggers, gettin' arrested and knowin' there ain't no money around to get you out, living from one miracle to the next. In fact, we get a vibrant and perceptive picture of unselfconsciously heroic

people whose involvement in simple acts of righteousness--voter registration, inoculation, community meetings--change their lives so unalterably that they can never lead themselves or their families back to safe ground. And so it is a vital book if not particularly well put together.

Dr. Jacob Blue is a Black Mississippi doctor and a candidate for Congress. He straddles several worlds: the plump, plush, lacquered, out-of-it bougie society of the nice clean negroes; the distressingly maniacal world of inter-racial political games; the terrifyingly gloomy world of Tent City which breeds disease, death and hopefully revolution; the cautious and so sophisticated world of Jesse the professional organizer; the altogether sick and menacing world of redneck know-nothings hell-bent on everybody's destruction. It is Jacob's straddling and then his eventual move out of the comfortable world toward an allegiance with Jesse and Tent City which provide the basic conflicts in the plot. And it is through Jacob's traveling from place to place that the reader gets to see the many sides and varied folk that make up the county, Magnolia County, a particular but representative region that gives us insight into not only the Down-South confederacy but the Up-South communities as well. And finally, it is through Jacob's private wrestling with his angel that reader and character alike fashion a vision of new possibilities. But by that time, the forces that he have got tanks in front of Jacob's house, have got dogs and shotguns ready, have smeared him with intimations of lechery and bad birth. He loses the election, his practice, and finally his life. A poignant story, for it has to be. It's our current history.

--Toni Cade Bambara



# Theatre Review

by CLAYTON RILEY

...time to stop jiving. Get ourselves together. Put priorities on the things we do. And you can't look at theater or anything implied by our contemporary, formal theatrical experiences without knowing form's failure.

Now, I come to the place of writing about this having witnessed recently an elder sister on the subway reveal to me the meaning of performance. Telling an IRT car full of us...

*"I live in the South Bronx. The filthiest, raunchiest, sickest goddamn place in the whole rotten world, you hear me? 'Cause I know what the hell I'm talkin' about."*

Yeah. Sister knows. Lives. And in her face the makeup, the greeeeeeeecepaint is a lifetime of things that didn't quite work out; the wrong times and the wrong places, of men and children going off and coming back too soon or not soon enough or not at all. Sister spaced out behind all of this.

*"...kids runnin' all over the place parents do nothing but drink that damn Johnny Walker Red and smoke them reefers and lay up...I go outta here every day fast as I can..."*

The Sister has obviously been "comin' downtown" for all of the life she may wish to remember, and all the life I have ever known. Busting suds. Dressing somebody else's kids. (How much more anguish can a woman know who plays second mother to some rich kid when her own youngsters don't have even one full-time parent?)

Sister says:

*"The police kill and rape our children. Nixon ain't the president...dope is the heada this country. Die...that's all they do in the South Bronx kids and*

*everybody...call yourselves men and you can't keep dope from killin' your own kids."*

The Sister's hands are gnarled, knuckles tight and hard, like small and ancient walnuts. Beneath a dress that is far too small for her a pair of legs nearly wrecked into a dark blue thicket of varicose veins. This is the life and the times, all dramatic forces gathered as a dark storm, the darker, darkest storm. She sits, removed from the nation's unilateral decision on the nature of reality, calling up from far below the substance of America's most fractured yet specific vision. While the realm's revolutionary Blood go sliding into the air-conditioned plushness of the nearest grants department of the closest money-giving arts foundation. (Where everything is always cool.)

The Sister, of course, rides in perpetual heat. Gleaming bead of sweat, furrowed brow, taking care to sit by the open subway window. Always. Saying:

*"Now you take the doughnut man...he thinks he's slick, would you believe that? He don't even know I'm spyin' on him. Thinks he can get away with that shit of his... I am reportin' every goddamn thing he does, reportin' him to CON-SOLIDATED EDISON."*

Because I suppose this is where it is in the Sister's estate, her cracked and dying empire in the Bronx. Con Ed can take care of anything, anytime, anywhere. Pay your bills, turn the city on and off... make it light, let it shine. Who dares duplicate this? Who will prostitute the Sister's design for living and giving the word? We take ourselves to stage left and right, scream at our co-staaaaaaaaaaaaars because they can't remember their lines, ask the play-

wright to give us a little more weight in the third act dialogue. Meanwhile a loud Sister, whose noise is the final product of a sensibility more clearly defined than those possessed by the "rational" colonial citizen, who has seen the United States lurking behind the steady left jab it keeps in her face...meanwhile, this Sister lives in the South Bronx. Goes downtown to meet the man the prideful nationalist claims to be getting off her back.

If we knew ourselves, really knew ourselves, we could be secure in the belief that theater, the THE-EEEE-A-TUH just isn't important enough to warrant the money spent on it...the money begged for, tommed for by people who claim to be bringing the truth to their Brothers and Sisters.

Bullshit.

Niggers know the truth. Know it too well. Don't need any more folks bringing all that relentlessly brutal truth to them cloaked in pride and heritage.

All those who think theater is so damned important need to look on the trains and the buses, read the writing on all the walls, listen to the screams in the halls. Close the auditoriums for a while and dig on what housing for the people means, what money for the people means, (if that shit they are writing is so important, why don't they pay poor Black members of the community to come and see it...that would fill up those usually half-empty theaters)... dig on what the true meaning of removing drugs from the scene might mean.

All you "RIGHT ON" desperadoes who got up and walked out of the subway car when that Sister from the South Bronx started to rap on the truth in the best non-Western theatrical tradition.



## WINDY CITY BLUES

Where grey fumes of  
spit and garbage  
surround unseen children  
who are stepped on.  
And a five-year-old Black girl  
is raped on her way  
home to lunch from school.

Where fast/talking hustlers  
snatch a Black woman's purse  
and cut up her face  
(to remember them by).

Where War Lords  
and  
Black Stones  
and SDS'ers have shoot-outs  
under your nose.

Where little children  
play in the streets  
and hundreds of Black children  
share one playground.

Where dope flourishes  
bad coke and skin poppin' junk  
combined with acid  
is pushed on anybody  
from cradle to full sizers.

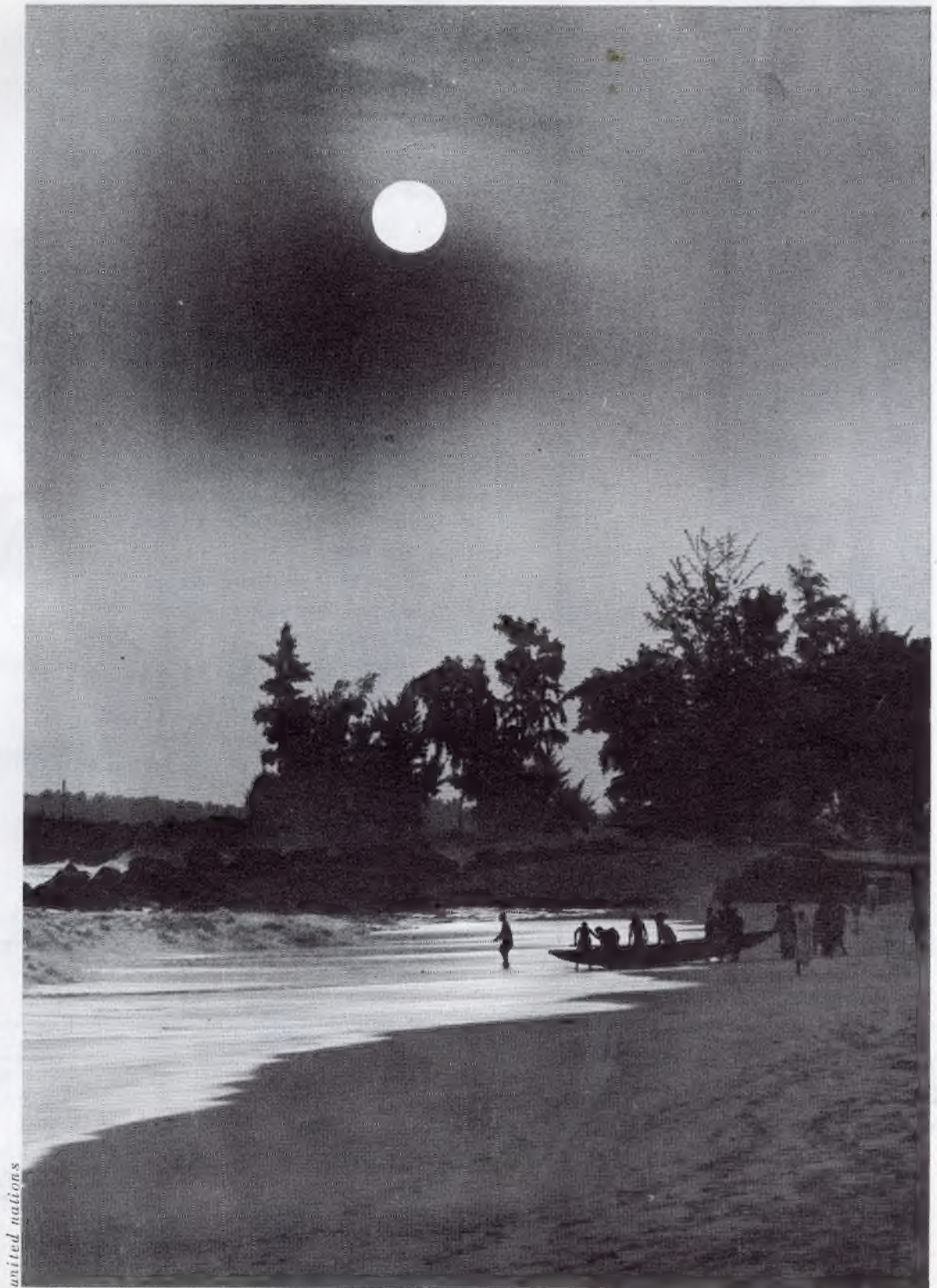
Where apartments are going  
at a premium -- 1 2 3 4 dollars a throw  
100 200 300 or 4000.  
Where Hawk comes to  
nip away toes noses  
and whole bodies too  
especially since heroes  
been to the moon.

Where children eat  
worm-filled candy  
and  
bug-infested meat  
and little Black children  
are lucky to eat at all.

*Chicago! Chicago!*  
*That wonderful*  
*now becoming the second most*  
*fun-filled high-risin' culture*  
*flourishing richest most interesting*  
*city in the nation*  
**IS NOT MY**  
**KIND OF TOWN.**

--Cynthia M. Conley





united nations

**MOTHER AFRICA -**  
A view of the Lagos, Nigeria lagoon.



Our tenth year

# 5 Compelling Reasons Why You Should Subscribe To **LIBERATOR**

1. Each month, *LIBERATOR*'s compelling approach to journalism has made it the only magazine of its kind today.
2. Issue after issue *LIBERATOR* commands the immediate attention of all Americans.
3. We not only report news, we help make news.
4. We bring you penetrating analysis of trends in Afro-American communities, and in Africa, Asia and Latin America.
5. *LIBERATOR* - Tough magazine to ignore - if you want to keep up with a changing world.

**SUBSCRIBE NOW** 12 issues \$4.00

*LIBERATOR*

244 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y., 10017

Please enroll me as a subscriber for:

☐ one year, \$4.00 or, ☐ two years, \$7.50

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Payment enclosed

Back copies from 1963 on, are available at .50¢ each.

## **LIBERATOR**

244 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y., 10017

RETURN REQUESTED

THIRD CLASS MAIL

INDEXED CITY

BULK RATE  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
Brooklyn, N.Y.  
PERMIT NO. 7379

PERIODICAL LIBRARIAN 6-70  
PUBLIC LIBRARY  
5 WASHINGTON ST  
NEWARK N J 07101